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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XVII. NO. 40.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

[From the N. Y. Observer's Report of the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, recently held in Boston.]

SLAVERY.

Rev. Dr. Beman, from the Committee on the relations of the Indian Missions to slavery, made a brief report, speaking in the highest terms of the diligence and ability with which Mr. Treat, the Secretary, had performed his embassy to those missions, and the value of the information he had gathered. The letters from those missions had been read, and Mr. Treat's answer, but as the correspondence is yet unfinished, it is not incumbent on the Board to take any action on the subject at the present time.

The Report carefully abstained from expressing any opinion upon the letter of Mr. Secretary Treat, as there was much diversity of sentiment among the members of the Board on the propriety of many of the views contained in that document. It had already been approved by the Prudential Committee, and had been transmitted to the Indian Missions, but as yet no answer had been received.

The Report was unanimously adopted.

Up to this moment the proceedings of the Board had been marked by the greatest order, and a most delightful state of religious interest had prevailed. A few items of business were to be transacted that would occupy but a few moments, and then the Board as they have done in all previous years, would spend the remainder of the session in devotional exercises. Never was there so loud a call for the Board to go to the throne of grace in prayer. The great debt lay as a load on all hearts. Shall the wheels of the car be clogged? Shall the missions be broken down, the presses stopped, the children thrust back to the arms of heathenism, from which they have been plucked by mission schools? The Board were anxious to spend an hour or two before adjournment in looking at these things at the mercy seat, and in imploring the Holy Spirit upon the churches and the parsonage world. It was the hour of prayer, an hour for prayer.

At this moment Rev. Mr. Blanchard rose and said that he was up before the question was taken which the President had just declared to be carried, and he wished to be heard. The President indulged him, and taking the platform Mr. B. proceeded for about an hour on the discussion of the abstract question of slavery, with the coldest disregard of the great object before the meeting, and apparently aiming only at the infliction upon the Board of a rebuking speech. He argued at great length to prove that slaveholding was neither justified by the Old Testament nor the New, and that slaveholders were not received to the primitive churches. He objected to the Report read by Dr. Beman because it does not endorse the letter of Mr. Treat, and proposes to have no discussion nor action on the subject at the present time, as the correspondence with the mission churches is not yet finished. But he thought the facts are now all before us, and the very time for discussion has come. The Indian Missions are hopelessly and incurably pro-slavery, and we know their position. It is time for us to take ours in reference to them. It is now well known that these missions employ hired slave labor, in their boardingschools; the patrons of the Board would not send their children to schools where slaves are employed to do the work, and will not be satisfied with the system among the missions. He then went on to say that these missions profess to hold to the same views on slavery which were adopted by the Board at Brooklyn, which views are reiterated week after week as justifying the admission of slaveholders to the church. Having proceeded at great length with these, and similar remarks, he offered a series of resolutions.

That slaveholding ought not to be tolerated in christian churches. 2. That mission churches ought not to employ hired slaves and 3. That slaveholding ought to be regarded prima facie evidence against the purity of a candidate for admission to the church.

Dr. Beman replied briefly showing that his speech had no bearing upon the question before the House.

Mr. Lovejoy, a noted abolitionist, now took the floor and spoke of Mr. Secretary Treat's letter, which he found entirely satisfactory to those who had often criticized the Board to take action on slavery. He had listened to it with delight, he knew that it would give pleasure to thousands who have been anxious to hear these principles advanced from this Board. Perhaps the Secretary's mind was up to this point four years ago, but whether it was or not, we [the abolitionists] rejoice that he has given those views, and that the Prudential Committee have endorsed them, and if the Board will now adopt and sanction that letter, we shall have no more to ask.

Judge Darling thought it due to the missions that the Board should express no opinion until they reply to the letter of the Secretary. Their reply may obviate all necessity of action on our part.

Rev. Dr. Parker was willing the Report of Dr. Beman should be adopted but without a caveat. We have heard at great length from the abolition side of the House, and it was right that those of us who do not agree to the sentiments expressed by the Secretary in his letter should be heard. That letter implies that slaveholding is sin; that it shall be regarded as *prima facie* evidence against a man's christian character, and subject him to examination. I deny this doctrine. Multitudes, the greatest mass of the christian people of this country, the friends and patrons of this Board, repeat this doctrine. It is not taught by the New Testament. Just the reverse is true. The distinction of master and servant is clearly admitted, and it is undeniable that they were both received into the church. Dr. Parker was proceeding from Ecclesiastical history and the New Testament to overthrow the doctrine of Dr. Blanchard, when he interrupted as not speaking to the question before the House.

The President said that he had induced Dr. Blanchard in a course of remark not in order, but he trusted the time would not be consumed by any further prosecution of the subject in that direction.

Dr. Parker expressed his regret that the time should be given up to those who held to one side of the question, and others have no opportunity to meet them, fully acquiescing in the propriety of suspending the discussion, he would sit down, after distinctly avowing that we do not approve the letter of the Secretary, and that we do not believe that the mission churches should hold slaveholding to be *prima facie* evidence against a man's christian character.

Rev. J. Curtis wished to show that slaveholding is sinful in itself, and if allowed he offered to do so at once, but the President told him he could not be induced. However he had advanced a little in his introduction when Dr. Bacon called to order, and he reluctantly took his seat.

Rev. Dr. Edward Beecher thought, as the correspondence between the Secretary and the missions is yet unfinished, it ought to lie over till sometime before it is passed on. Their reply will shed important light, and may make our cause as plain as noonday. It is to be presumed that we sustain our officers until evidence is given to the contrary. He was satisfied with the Secretary's letter. I think it eminently wise and not ultra, guarded and safe, and I am willing to leave the subject with the Prudential Committee.



OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OU

BOSTON, FRIDAY,

THE LIBERATOR.

J. R. GIDDINGS AND HIS CONSTITUENTS.

NEW YORK, O., Sept. 9, 1848.

DEAR EDMUND:

I came here from Pittsburgh this morning, fifteen miles, to speak to-morrow—Sunday; to preach here in the come-outter meeting-house, the kingdom of human love and brotherhood. I found a meeting called here this afternoon of his constituents of J. R. Giddings—this being within his district. I was now in that meeting, and J. R. G. is addressing his constituents in this town upon the great questions now before the political world. He throws himself before his constituents to be examined. He says the question of protective tariff has ceased to be a question at issue in the political parties; that the protective tariff is advocated by no man. The question of improvement of harbors and rivers is no longer at issue—the question is obsolete. The statesman who seeks to call off attention from the great questions at issue to these minor matters, is a deceiver, and seeks to darken the people. Abel P. Upshur put forth in 1843 the grand issue, in his letter to our Charge de Affairs in Texas—that the great object of the Federal government is to extend and perpetuate slavery; and this issue overshadows all others, and involved this nation in a train of disastrous consequences which will affect its destinies in ages to come. I am told, says he, that opposition to the extension of slavery is not a Whig measure. Henry Clay, he says, laid down the doctrine that each State should support its own institutions. He says, that Clay takes the ground that Congress has no jurisdiction over slavery, but that the Federal government ought to be separated from the support of slavery; that opposition to Texas, opposition to the Mexican war, and opposition to the extension of slavery, were the three great issues of the Whigs in 1844. This is where I stand then; it is where I stand now. I tell you what I know, that Henry Clay is opposed to Taylor, and never endorsed the Whig principles of Gen. Taylor. Had the Liberty men voted for Clay in 1844, Texas had never come into the Union, and the war had never come upon us. Those who opposed the war and then voted supplies and men to carry it on, are traitors to the Whig principles. Every Whig but fourteen in the House and two in the Senate, voted for the war, to their eternal disgrace, at the call of Polk and at the dictation of the slave power. All the horrors of the Mexican war came upon their souls. You, my constituents, so far as the action of your representative is concerned, were never involved in the guilt of that war. Now the great question is, Will you vote that slavery be extended over the empire of Mexico? or for the limitation and final extinction of slavery? Throughout the South, the self-evident truths that God made all men free, and gave to all an inalienable right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness are denied, are ridiculed. To carry out the great issue there are three candidates before the people. I care not for the men, aside from the principles which they represent. I am in the habit of saying but little about Cass—but little can be said about him. He is a more honorable man than Taylor, inasmuch as he has openly put his views before the nation. Every man who votes ought to read the letter of Cass to Nicholson, and the letter of Van Buren, and I was going to say, of Taylor. 'Where shall we find them?' called out one. 'On the Rio Grande,' called out another. 'They are not to be found,' said another. Giddings says, Cass takes the ground that Congress has no power to protect liberty where it exists. Mexico is now free. Cass says the government has no power to continue it free and to keep slavery out. He denies the doctrines of all the early patriots of this country, and denies that this government has any power to abolish slavery in its territories. Cass says he is opposed to continuing freedom in Mexico. Whoever votes for Cass votes for slavery. Whoever votes for Cass votes for his principles, and for the extension and perpetuity of slavery. The Democrats have this honorable point in their character—they do their work openly; they carry the sheep on their backs, uncoveted, no cloak, openly—they are open thieves. 'There is honor among thieves,' cried one. But I do not believe there is much honor among Thieves or Democrats. But I leave our Cass friends and turn to Taylor.

The first speech in favor of Taylor was made by John C. Calhoun, that distinguished Whig. Lewis of Alabama made the first written communication to Taylor. These both urge that Taylor be nominated by the people and not by a convention.

The question now being upon the report, it was proposed to lay it over till another year. Dr. Tyler said that it was ambiguous, some thinking it endorses the Secretary's letter, and others that it does not. He could not vote on it until he was sure that he understood it.

Dr. Beman denied that there is any ambiguity in it. It is as plain as Saxon English could make it.

Mr. Lovejoy demanded of Dr. Beman to say whether or not it is the intention of the Report to endorse the Secretary's letter. Dr. Beman did not respond.

At this point it was ascertained that President Blanchard would like to have leave to withdraw the resolutions which had been rejected. But this could not be done without a reconsideration of the vote by which they were rejected. After much conversation, the vote was reconsidered by the Board, on the principle of doing a kindness to those who despitefully used you and persecuted you; and President Blanchard was now allowed to withdraw the rejected resolutions, which he had refused to withdraw before they were rejected. He was still very anxious to have his resolutions printed with the proceedings, but as they had been rejected and withdrawn, they would not regularly appear on the minutes.

Chandler Walworth moved that they be recorded. Rev. Z. S. Barstow said if these are printed on the minutes, next year we shall have 50,000 abolition resolutions to record and print.

Seth Terry, Esq., protested against extending any special clause, and insisted in defense of all proprietary rights and property.

Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, however, declared that there are thousands of church members, and they were multiplying to millions at the West, and all whom are waiting anxiously to see if this Board will not take action on the subject of slavery, and if they see that these resolutions have been rejected, they will turn their backs upon you. You must not do that thing.

The question was taken, and the resolutions of the President of Knox college first rejected, and afterwards withdrawn, are to be recorded.

The Report of the Indian missions and slavery was then adopted without opposition, after a single sentence was stricken out, which was thought by some to approve the action of the Prudential Committee as expressed in the Secretary's letter.

Mr. Blanchard had evidently come to the meeting to force the subject of slavery into its deliberations, and most completely did he succeed in interrupting the good feeling of the last session of the Board, consuming the very time that we had been spending on the subject of slavery, and actually thwarting the cherished and often expressed desires of the Board to be spending the time in religious conference and prayer.

CP Hypothesi: As of old, the Scribes and Pharisees were the last to enter the kingdom of Heaven, so are the spiritual dignitaries of our day the last to enter it, after its holy enclosures through freedom's pearly gates.



COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

OCTOBER 6, 1848.

SELECTIONS.

In 1844 we had a clear majority of 31 against annexing Texas. It has been a standing rule the last twelve years, that Congress is in the hands of the President. Say to any member of Congress—Go to Taylor, and you shall have an appointment to the Court of St. James—and I would not go sponsor for that man's integrity. Hence the President controls the vote of Congress. The People must settle all questions of National policy; Congress never will settle any. The moment a law is passed extending slavery over Mexico, it will put \$30,000 into the pocket of Taylor, in the increased value of his slaves. I wrote a letter to Taylor, to ask his views of the Wilmett Provision; but I had not so good success as Balaam had with his ass, for I could not get a word out of him; I have had no answer yet.

From the North Star.

H. G. WARNER, ESQ., EDITOR OF THE ROCHESTER COURIER.)

SIR:—My reasons—I will not say my apology, for addressing to you this letter, will become evident, by perusing the following brief statement of facts.

About the middle of August of the present year—deeply desirous to give my daughter, a child between nine and ten years old, the advantages of a good school—and learning that 'Seward Seminary' of this city was an institution of that character—I applied to its principal, Miss Tracy, for the admission of my daughter into that Seminary. He is showing up the arguments of those who pretend that Taylor is in favor of the Wilmett Provision; but I had no good success as Balaam had with his ass, for I could not get a word out of him; I have had no answer yet.

The friends of Taylor had a meeting on Sunday, to get up a letter to Taylor, and the Allison letter appeared soon after; and a good Presbyterian minister was there to help the Sunday school. I believe the Allison letter was written by CRITTENDEN.

He is showing up the arguments of those who pretend that Taylor is in favor of the Wilmett Provision; but I had no good success as Balaam had with his ass, for I could not get a word out of him; I have had no answer yet.

Having shown what is the position of Cass and Taylor, and that it is vain to hope for good from them against slavery, he is now showing the superiority of the Buffalo platform; the great, leading, vital, fundamental principle of which is—the separation of the Federal Government from the support of slavery.

My heart, he says, never ascended more devoutly to God than at the Buffalo Convention. He is now describing what he saw in the District, When Hope Slatter had a gang of fifty slaves in the railway car, one man came to the car window to take a final leave of his wife, and the slave-trader knocked him down with his cane! An affrighted slave! He is now presenting the claims of Van Buren.

Having shown what is the position of Cass and Taylor, and that it is vain to hope for good from them against slavery, he is now showing the superiority of the Buffalo platform; the great, leading, vital, fundamental principle of which is—the separation of the Federal Government from the support of slavery.

His speeches are all against slavery, and in favor of liberty. He will act a leading part in the history of this country for some years to come. He is more worthy the confidence of the people of this nation than any man who now figures in its political affairs.

He is done. Not a word has been said about the Constitution, or office—for which the people vote, and which they pledge themselves to support. His hopes are strong that the Free Soil party will triumph. But deliver me from the windings of politics.

J. R. Giddings is as good as his position will allow. He is decidedly the best man—the man who may be most safely trusted—of any man in the political world. His speeches are all against slavery, and in favor of liberty. He will act a leading part in the history of this country for some years to come. He is more worthy the confidence of the people of this nation than any man who now figures in its political affairs.

But according to his expositions of the Federal Compact, I see not how he or any man can belong to it. His position seems to be this: He enters into an alliance with slaveholders to establish justice and secure liberty; and engages to allow his allies to steal and enslave men, promising never to interfere with them, provided they will not involve us in the expense, the crime and guilt of slavery; i. e. he engages to leave his allies un molested in their efforts to defeat the very end of the alliance. He forms an alliance with thieves to promote honesty, and to steal and rob *twixt* extent, provided they wont steal from him and on his land. Such is the exact relation of the North to the South. Mr. Giddings has painted the slaveholders' characters in colors 'black as ink,' and then asks the people to join them in alliance to protect liberty.

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representatives, and finally adopted what is called the Missouri Compromise line, without even a division in the Senate, and in the House by a vote of 134 to 42. Even this compromise seems not to have been adhered to, by act of Congress, 1836, c. 86, the Western boundary of Missouri was extended over what by the compromise was to be forever considered free territory, and not a word is said in the act about restricting slavery, though in the act admitting Arkansas, passed at the same session and approved only eight days after, the Missouri compromise is referred to. It may be that it was not necessary to expressly exclude slavery or to refer to the compromise act. Not so did Congress think in 1832, in 1816, and in 1818—for the people of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, as a condition of admission into the Union, were expressly required to make constitutions so as to exclude slavery. Congress did not think it safe to rely upon the provision of the ordinance of 1787, although declared to be unenforceable.

The preservation of slaves in Texas was openly avowed by our government as a prominent reason for annexation. The joint resolution for annexation disregards even the Missouri compromise, and simply excludes slavery from such new States as may with the consent of Texas be formed out of its territory north of the compromise line. But without the consent of Texas thus to create new States, slavery was not to be interdicted anywhere. This resolution passed the Senate by a vote of 27 to 25, and the House by a vote of 129 to 98. A constitution was accordingly framed establishing slavery without any limitation, and Texas was admitted as a slave State, by a vote of 31 to 13 in the Senate, and 141 to 56 in the House.

The Wilmot Proviso is copied from the ordinance of 1787, and not only is it evident that the slave States repudiate it, but as yet not even the representatives from the free States have been willing to support it as a fundamental principle not to be departed from. They have never shown themselves to be so thoroughly convinced that slavery is a curse as to be opposed under all circumstances to its extension. Even whilst we are writing, it is a matter of serious debate in the Senate—not whether the ordinance of '87 shall be extended to the territory of Oregon,—not whether the existence of slavery shall be left to be decided by the people there,—but whether the people shall not be explicitly prevented from excluding slavery!

Delegates from every State represented in the Continental Congress (including all but Georgia) signed the non-importation agreement of 1774, by which they bound their constituents from and after Dec. 1st, 1774, wholly to discontinue the slave trade, and neither to be concerned in it themselves, nor hire their vessels to sell their commodities or manufactures to those who were concerned in it.

Their successors, the Congress of the United States, by the acts of 1807 and 1818, (and others might be cited,) permitted the sale of freedom into slavery, and seventy years afterwards admitted Florida into the Union with a constitution which provides that the general assembly shall have no power to pass laws for 'the emancipation of slaves,' the House, by a vote of 87 to 76, refusing to require this clause to be stricken out!

Not one of these acts of national degradation could have been accomplished if only the people of the free States had remained loyal to the principle of freedom. That these acts have been consummated is evidence that the spirit of freedom has decayed even in the free States. We do not hesitate to attribute the decay to the demoralizing influence of the compromises of the Constitution. Our fathers thought that they might establish justice for themselves and injustice for the slaves; that they might secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, and at the same time hold in slavery a portion of their fellow men. They did not see that to require an oath to support these compromises from members of Congress, the State legislatures and all the executive and judicial officers of the United States, and the States would either prevent real lovers of liberty from holding all these offices, or would cause the love of liberty to lessen and in time to die out. How can a man whose whole soul is filled with abhorrence of slavery, conscientiously take the oath of office, and swear the return of runaway slaves? He must either at the outset disregard his clear sense of right, or his standard of right must gradually become corrupted. If he takes the oath meaning to keep it, he means to do that which from his very soul he knows to be morally wrong. If he takes it meaning to disregard it, he simply commits perjury. The Constitution, therefore, requires a lover of liberty to act immorally as a qualification for all the offices of honor and trust—state and national! Is it to be wondered at that the result is what we have described? Would it not be a case of surprise, if the nation did not have less love of liberty now than it had sixty years ago?

In order that this love may not wholly die, it is necessary to put an end to the compromises which have caused it thus to languish. It is time for all those who really wish to establish justice and to secure the blessings of liberty to their posterity, to refuse on all occasions to take this oath, and only longer support these compromises. We may and should yield a ready support to all clauses really intended to establish justice, but to clauses intended to countenance or support slavery our answer and unalterable resolve should be, we will yield no support whatever, but will use all just and patriotic means completely to nullify them. This advice may seem to some persons as no-governmentism. Such persons cannot see that almost every right of value is supported now by state laws. Neither can they see any power beyond the ballot-box, though the votes of the people are nothing but the expression of the sentiments of the people. They do not see that this popular sentiment may be regenerated by free and continued discussion, and as effectually, perhaps, by individual repudiation of these compromises. They smile when we assure them that 'truth next unto God is almighty.' But we are thankful that we have found in Milton's words, 'If not abolished in blood, and we trust it never will be, we believe that slavery will be ended by means of a public sentiment, which will disengage all dead sheep in its peaceful advance towards the accomplishment of its noble end—the freedom of millions!' There is a good time coming. Tokens of its approach are visible in the rending of churches and parties. A determination to overthrow slavery, no yielding as can be wished, is thoroughly engrossed in a large minority of the people, and it needs not the gift of prophecy to foretell what must be the result. When this result is attained, universal annexation will be truly equivalent to universal good will and peace. Nations will ask admission into our confederacy, not as now for the sake of protecting the dying institution of slavery, but to add another to the band of States which will urge each other towards the most perfect practical development of the great principles of freedom.

* The joint resolution passed the House by a vote of 130 to 94. An amendment was adopted in the Senate, and, as amended, the resolution was ordered to a third reading by a vote of 27 to 25, and was finally passed without a division. The House concurred in the Senate's amendment by a vote of 132 to 76.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

OUTRAGE IN FRIENDS' MEETING.

Cherry St. meeting was on First day last made the theatre of a new outrage on free speech and the rights of conscience, which, from its relation to the anti-slavery question, is a legitimate subject for report and comment in the Freeman; though we carefully abstain from interfering with ordinary sectarian difficulties and collisions. From a friend who was present, and in whose memory and candor we have the fullest confidence, we have learned fuller particulars of this affair than are given in the Ledger's account, which we copy. One excellent and conscientious friend, Elijah F. Pennybacker was present, and a short time after the meeting had settled into the quiet, he arose, and, in a serious, kind, and impressive tone and manner, spoke in substance as follows: (Of course, as the report is brief, and is made from memory, it may vary from the precise phraseology of the speaker.) 'I do not expect,' said he 'to say many words, but I believe I have some important truths to present for the consideration of the meeting. My mind has been occupied with the misdirection of the human mind, by which man's veneration and devotion are excited toward organizations and conventional laws, rather than the truth of God in his own soul, and men are led to tolerate and patronize legalized and popular crimes, while they denounce individual sins.'

For example: There is a universal abhorrence, among men, of the crimes of murder and stealing; if a man commits murder, public sentiment every

where condemns him; but let that man act as the instrument of the government, to kill, not one man alone, but many—to commit wholesale murder—and he is honored, and the people seek to promote him to the highest offices of the nation, even though his killing is in a war for the extension of slavery. So the public sentiment condemns the individual thief, however trifling his theft, but if the government licenses or sanctions the robbery, then the infant may be torn from its cradle, men and women may be bought and sold on the auction block with impunity. Then men call the crime an "organic sin," and tolerate or protect it without reproach.

To rob on the high seas is piracy, and none of our shippers are loaded with the fruits of this robbery; but if the ship is built by the authority of law, and upon the land, we are not only look upon it with toleration, but partake of its fruits; thus our slaves are growing under the weight of goods plundered from the slave's unpaid toil. Would this be if we revered the light of truth in our own souls, above human laws and man's decrees?—like Christ we listened to the voice of our Father and the revelations of truth within us, instead of the regeneration and disenthralment of the unhappy and oppressed sons of Africa.

apparel a coat consisting of the inside of a pine and the outside of a goose. I will not stop here to describe the unseemly and ludicrous figure which he presented as he wended his course up hill and down dale, until he reached his place of refuge.

He was annoyed, of course, swore vengeance, and reported the case to a "square" on the following day. He described the exact modus operandi, [I should like to have heard it], and whilst he was thus pouring balm upon his wounded spirits by availing himself of the all-powerful arm of the law, his idea of South Carolina protection was very much lessened, and his ardor very much cooled by the arrival of a few gentlemen deputized by the citizens of the neighborhood, who informed him, that if he did not leave in five hours, they would give him thirty-nine lashes; if not in five afterwards, they would give thirty-nine more; and if he still persisted in remaining, that they would complete the coat of the evening before by giving him hemp for his cravat, it is useless to say that he took the hint, and I suppose by this time is in the heart of abolitionism, consoling himself with the reflection that he has been a martyr to the cause of the regeneration and disenthralment of the unhappy and oppressed sons of Africa.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

We copy a portion of an article, with the above title, from the N. Y. Journal of Commerce of Sept. 27. The remainder, which only a plea in behalf of Colonization, coupled with assertions (which we have reason to think untrue) of the influence exerted by the colony at Liberia in suppressing the Slave trade, we omit.—■

At intervals within the last three or four years, several of the more influential English journals have advocated the withdrawal of the British naval force stationed on the African coast, on the assumed ground of its inefficiency for the prevention of the slave-trade,—which, instead of being diminished by the attempts made to suppress it, is boldly alleged to have increased, if not in consequence, at least in spite of those efforts; on the ground, likewise assumed, that the maintenance of a squadron there had done more harm than good, and had actually aggravated the horrors of the traffic by increasing the sufferings of its victims, causing them to be overcrowded in small vessels, constructed solely with reference to speed, and to be embarked with a degree of expedition that occasioned disregard of their comfort; and further, because, as is alleged, the support of a squadron there has involved a sacrifice of the country in life and treasure, out of all proportion to any beneficial results that have thence accrued to the cause of humanity. No pains have been spared to produce an impression on the public mind favorable to the abandonment of the existing slave-trade, and only a powerful section of the press has labored strenuously that behalf, but it has been song with some degree of success to cure the co-operation of the House of Commons. The appointment of a committee was procured, on motion of a member of that House, who declared himself of opinion that Parliament should leave the slave-trade free, and an inquiry entered on, which resulted in confirming the committee in their pre-conceived opinion—the evidence being directed to that point—that the attempts of France, England, and America to suppress the trade had increased it, and that to put it down, it should be left entirely free—that the worst of mankind (for Lord Brougham truly said, that every crime that could be perpetrated was comprised, in the slave-trade) should be left unrestrained to prosecute an employment the most congenial to their depraved natures. The secret of these efforts to bring about a change of public sentiment in Great Britain that shall result in abolishing the inhuman practice of man-stealing and man-selling, a practice which cannot be termed a trade without labeling honest vocations, may be found in a sincere but ignorant belief, that if the means in operation were adequate to the end, this species of piracy, like every other, would long ago have been comparatively annihilated—for the sanguine do not stop to consider that to this alone has been extended the practical protection of great and powerful nations; or it may, perhaps, have connection with the fact recently alleged in the House of Lords, and admitted on the part of the government, that British capital is largely engaged in the iniquitous traffic. Whatever be the cause, the progress of change in the public mind has been so great as to alarm the champions, who, through years of uncertain warfare, fought the battles of freedom in the House of Commons, and achieved the abolition of the slave-trade against seemed absolutely inexpugnable; and the voices of Brougham and Denman, now peers of the realm, are heard from another arena, but in like tones of stern, eloquent, and indignant reproof, depressing the apathy and indifference respecting the violation of the slave trade, so injurious and derogatory to the country, and rebuking the faint-heartedness that despairs of the entire extinction of the traffic, with a merely feeble exhortation. Lord Denman completely refuted the propositions that the slave trade led inevitably in spite of every endeavor, and that the efforts directed to its suppression had aggravated instead of alleviating the evil. He proved that the slave trade could be suppressed, and that on various parts of the coast, it had been discouraged, harassed and extinguished. It has been totally suppressed in the Bonny river, in the Gambia, and other places. The 12,000 slaves formerly exported from Benin to the Cubas, dwindled to 1000 after the destruction of the iron-boats. Lord Denman is of opinion that if the blow struck had been followed up, the slave trade would have been extinguished altogether by this time. The evidence adduced in the House of Commons showed that, in 1843, when England was thought to be in earnest in her determination to put down the traffic, it was regarded in Brazil as a losing concern, and those who had engaged in it were preparing to take up some less iniquitous business.

In what light does this present the leaders of the Whig party?

Have they surrendered, or has Gen. Taylor? Have they no doctrines nor principles? Or are they engaged in a nefarious and factious attempt to deceive their Whig friends on this vital point of the principles of their candidate?

Which horn of the dilemma will they take? Yet, by accepting their nomination, and fathoming the pledges given in his name, by Judge Saunders of Louisiana, Gen. Taylor gave them some color of excuse for the misrepresentation of his opinions and position, of which they have been guilty, and which he now disclaims and repudiates. In view of such conduct on the part of both candidate and leaders, who wonders that one-half of the honest ranks and file of the Whig party turn their backs upon the cause which they have been wont to support, in disgust and loathing? Who wonders that the Whig party is everywhere broken down and dispirited? Who wonders that it is discomfited in every election?

The truth is, the fraud and humbug of the Whig party are revolting to the hearts of the honest and unbuckled men of the party. They view such conduct as a wicked and sacrilegious assault upon truth, honesty, and sacred principle; and they turn away from it in sickening abhorrence. How can candid and truthful men do otherwise?

In this conduct of the honest and single-minded men of their party, the Whig leaders can read their rebuke and their doom.—[Washington Union.]

MEETINGS AMONG THE COLORED PEOPLE.—Frederick Douglass, Charles L. Remond, and R. Delany are now in town [Philadelphia] holding meetings among the colored people, with the especial object of extending the circulation of the NORTH STAR. The meetings already held have been full of life, and we hope much from their continuance. There has been for some time a growing revival of anti-slavery feeling among our colored brethren, and this large re-inforcement of eloquent speakers will doubtless give it a fresh impetus.

If any one had told him that he should live to see the day when a committee of one of the houses of Parliament should suffer a man to come before them who said that he was a felon, that he had been engaged in murder, rapine, piracy (and every crime that could be committed was comprised in the slave-trade), who said that he had led a felon's life, and found it a most lucrative life, his astonishment would have been great. But how much greater it would have been if he could have known that such a man would become the pet, the cherished darling witness of a committee of one of the houses of Parliament, who, instead of sending him for trial, and thence to the hulks, had him before them kindly treated him, appeared anxious to wipe away any antecedent stain in his character, and in whose favor he stood so high that they appealed to him for his judgment of the credibility of a captain in Her Majesty's service! [Hear, hear!] It was no light matter to suffer a man tarnished by every vice to come into court and give evidence of such practices as this had confessed himself guilty of!

This adventure originated on a motion of Lord Denman for an address to the Queen, praying for a rigorous enforcement of the treaties entered into for the extinction of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, and for the prosecution of all British subjects engaged therein; and suggesting to her Majesty the expediency of concerting measures with her allies for decimating slave-trading piracy, with a punishment less severe than that now incurred according to the law of nations for that crime. Lord Brougham expressed himself in favor of a searching inquiry by a committee of the House of Lords, into the various forms which the traffic assumed, and the different guises under which it appeared. The result of such an inquiry would, he said, either rescue the character of British merchants from the stigma which attached to them, or would prove that the suspicions were well founded which led him to suppose that the criminals were to be found in the bosom of the great mercantile communities of London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Manchester, and that a searching inquiry would drag them to light. The Marquis of Lansdowne responded on behalf of the government, affirming that the government was at this moment, with no abatement of alacrity, giving to the provisions made for suppressing the

slave-trade their fullest effect. He went so far as to deny the right of Great Britain, in a moral sense, to abandon her endeavors to put an end to that trade which was the curse of the world, as it had been a stigma on her own national character; and concluded by declaring his conviction of the expediency of concerting measures for declaring the slave trade piracy with a mitigation of the punishment now incurred for that crime.

According to a statement of Mr. Home, in the debate on the Navy Estimates in the British House of Commons, August 9th, there were in 1847 no less than forty-three British ships employed in the suppression of the slave-trade, viz.—28 off the Western Coast of Africa, 11 at the Cape, and the residue on the Southeast Coast of America. The efficiency of this squadron is attested by the rescue of almost countless victims, either in captured slave ships or in tarracoons or factories destroyed on the coast.

But unhappily only a temporary and limited benefit results from these successes. The great depots for export are often seized—the conquest has been a thousand times achieved, the enemy routed, and his strongholds left a heap of smouldering ruins; but as soon as the fleet of the retiring conqueror sinks below the horizon, a new mart is raised on the ashes of the old, and a thriving trade is prosecuted while the avenging sword is sheathed. The profits of the kidnapper are so enormous as to outweigh all other considerations, and though continually defeated he never subdued.

THE LIBERATOR.
BOSTON, OCTOBER 6, 1848.

THE RIGHT AND THE EXPEDIENT.

It has ever been the proud distinction of the Old School Abolitionists, that they have, from the first,

taken for their practical maxim—THE ABSOLUTE RIGHT IS THE HIGHEST EXPEDIENCE. In this sign have they gone forth, conquering and to conquer. The measure of their success has ever been in proportion to the fidelity with which they have acted up, in their doctrine and their life, to the highest idea of Anti-Slavery duty which they had attained, at each successive point of their progress, without regard to the promptings of an apparent and superficial expediency.

"Gradual, not Immediate, Emancipation," cried Expediency, "if you would obtain the ear of the people, and hope for their help!" Immediate Emancipation is the Right of the Slave and the Duty of the Master!" replied Anti-Slavery, "and I will demand nothing less!" And though the land was full of violence, and the people gnashed upon this truth with their teeth, it finally prevailed, so as now to be almost universally admitted as an axiom in ethics.

"Conciliate the Church and the Clergy!" exclaimed Expediency, "your influence is gone forever!" "Not if they stand hand and hand with Slavery!" answered Anti-Slavery, "let them perish first!" And, though the Clergy and the Church, who had followed after Anti-Slavery, with scarcely an exception, turned and followed it after it no more, still its influence even on the Clergy, the Church and religious bodies, increased and multiplied an hundred fold.

And so as to Political Expediency. "Vote, for this time only, for Harrison!" urged Expediency in the Hard Cider Campaign, "vote for the candidate of the North! I cannot trust the candidate of the South, whose course and whose pledges are satisfactory to the South," returned Anti-Slavery.

"Support Clay, and keep out Texas!" shrieked Expediency in the campaign of 1844, "anybody rather than Folk and Annexation!" Anybody rather than the fasteners of sleek slaves, the impudent defenders of Slavery on its merits, the compromiser away of the rights of the North!" responded Anti-Slavery.

And Wisdom was justified of her children, in both cases. God said unto Harrison, almost at the very moment he and his partisans were saying unto their souls, 'eat and drink, for thou hast much good laid up for many years,'—Then, too, this night the soul shall be required of thee!" And he died, and was buried, and John Tyler reigned in his stead!

And when the question was raised of resistance to the annexation of Texas, after the accession of Polk, the chiefest supporters of Clay declared that "it was too late" and that "resistance might be attended with bad results!" Who believes, now, that there was any sincerity in the pretended opposition of Clay and his most prominent partisans to the Annexation? Who would have laughed the credulity of the abolitionists to scorn more loudly, or at least more heartily, than they, had they succeeded in coaxing them?

Up to about the time of the contest between Clay and Polk, the political action of abolitionists was governed chiefly by a regard to the relations of the candidates to slavery, and they opposed them on the ground of the special suit and service they had vowed to it, by their words or by their actions. But about that time they perceived that the relations of all holders of office to slavery were, of necessity, if maintained in good faith, those of support and comfort. They discerned that it was of small moment who administered the Constitution of the country, so long as that Constitution makes, in the words of John Quincy Adams, "the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of slavery the vital and animating spirit of the National Government." They saw that as abolitionists they could not execute the proslavery commands of the Constitution, and as honest men they could not swear to perform them, with the deliberate purpose of breaking their oaths. And what they might not do themselves, they clearly could not appoint others, by their votes, to do for them. The only political action that lay open to them was to labor outside of the Constitution, and not within it, for its overthrow. To convince the people that their form of government was the greatest enemy of their safety, their prosperity and their honor; that all their material prosperity and local advantages were in spite, not because, of their confederate Union; and to persuade them openly and honestly to repudiate the compromise by which they had delivered themselves up, bound in political servitude, to the Whig King de jure. But it is an ungracious homage, at best, and one that can command but little gratitude. It is but lip-service that he pays to the ugly idol of the Whigs, while his heart is far from it.

He takes this step with no new conviction excepting the impossibility of defeating Cass, except by electing Taylor. Did Mr. Greeley really suppose that Clay would have had any chance, had he been willing to stand, and yet would he not have supported him? He feels profound respect and sympathy for the Free Soil movement, but discerns no hope of electing Mr. Van Buren. Not much as of electing Mr. Clay? He thinks the latter would have stood a chance in the House, while the former would not!

Nice distinctions in bolting, these! Taylor is not committed to fundamental Whig Principles distinctly and satisfactorily. He would prefer Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, or almost any prominent Whig statesman. But he prefers Taylor to Cass. He knows Cass to be wrong on the slavery-extension question, and does not believe Taylor to essentially right!

But of all the arguments ever used in support of Gen. Taylor, or any other man, commend us to the following, which we give in the *opposition* news of Mr. Greeley. "The Whig party, faulst as it is, embodies most of the temporal and measured (exalidly measured, a-gill-up would hold it all!) anti-slavery sentiment of the country; and the fact that it has nominated a Louisiana sugar planter for President, whose opinions on this subject do not accord with its own preexisting convictions, constrains and will constrain it to more decisive and earnest hostility to slavery extension!" Heard ye ever the like of that? Mr. Greeley is no fool; but, it must be acknowledged, he is excellent at cooking of *slapdash*, or the stuff they feed fools on!

The Daily Advertiser and the other old Whig papers give but a lenient entertainment to this eleven-hour conversion. They evidently have but little faith in death-bed repentances. We suppose that in their secret souls they had been wishing him to go for Van Buren. The staple of Mr. Greeley's Anti-Slavery was never anything to brag of, but he has drawn out his thread so fine to make him pass with the ignorant classes, including the bulk of Whig editors, as an eminent manufacturer of the article.

POETRY.

For the Liberator.
EVENING HYMN TO NATURE.
The solemn hour of midnight
Is hastening on space,
And fleety clouds are flitting
Awaisthe pale moon's face;
The breeze has died in silence,
In the hushed forest dim,
Yet I hear the whispering cadences
Of Nature's sweet-voiced hymn.

Yes, evermore she sendeth
Her choral sweet music,
Her voice of work and worship
O'er mountain, plain and sea;
Still echoing on, though slumber
Has wrapt the weary world,
And heaven's starry canopy
Is over us unfurled;
An emblem of the watchfulness
Which over all presides,
Though we in cold forgetfulness
Are left of all besides;
Speaking in tones of hope and love,
And waking into life,
The powers which latent slumbered,
With heavenly beauty rife.
Oh Nature! pure and holy
Are all thy loving smiles,
And hours of grief and sadness
They commune sweet beguiles,
And in my heart I bless thee
For the peace thou dost impart,
And for the flowers thou'st planted
Deep in my deathless heart.

The flowers of hope and memory
In chapters that dost weave,
And bind around the lonely one,
When bliss seems taking leave;
And sweetly do they bloom in light
Upon the stricken bough,
Shedding their perfume all around,
Making the future now.
Then let our song be cheerful,
And in a sweet accord,
With Nature's blessed music
Allure our hearts to God,
Who gloriously can render
Our days of darkness light,
And from the midnight shadows
Bring forth the morning bright.

M. L.

JOHN LITTLEJOHN.

BY CHARLES MACKAY.

John Littlejohn was stanch and strong,
Upright and downright, scorning wrong;
He gave good weight, and paid his way,
He thought for himself, and said his say;
Whenever a rascal strove to pass,
Instead of silver, money of brass,
He took his hammer, and said with a frown,
'The coin is spurious, nail it down.'

John Littlejohn was firm and true,
You could not cheat him in two and two;
When foolish argues, might and main,
Darkened and twisted the light and plain,
He saw through the mazes of their speech
To the simple truth beyond their reach;
And crushing their logic, said with a frown,
'Your coin is spurious, nail it down.'

John Littlejohn maintained the right,
Through storm and shine, in the World's despite;
When fools or quacks desired his vote,
Dosed him with arguments, learnt by rote,
Or by coaxing, threats, or promises tried
To gain his support, to the wrongful side,
'Nay, nay,' said John, with an angry frown,
'Your coin is spurious, nail it down.'

We hen told that kings had a right divine,
And that the people were herds of swine,
That nobles alone were fit to rule,
That the poor were unimproved by school,
That ceaseless toil was the proper fate
Of all but the wealthy and the great,
John shook his head, and swore with a frown,
'The coin is spurious, nail it down.'

When told that events would justify
A false and crooked policy,
That a decent hope of future good
Might excuse departure from rectitude,
That a lie of white was of small offence,
To be forgiven by men of sense,
'Nay, nay,' said John, with a sigh and frown,
'The coin is spurious, nail it down.'

When told from the pulpit, or the press,
That Heaven was a place of exclusiveness,
That none but those could enter there
Who knelt with the 'orthodox' at prayer,
And held all virtues, out of their pale,
As idle words of no avail,
John's face grew dark, as he swore with a frown,
'The coin is spurious, nail it down.'

Whenever the world our eyes would blind
With false pretence of such a kind,
With hump, cant, and bigotry,
Or a specious sham philosophy,
With wrong dressed up in the guise of right,
And darkness passing itself for light,
Let us imitate John, and exclaim with a frown,
'The coin is spurious, nail it down.'

From the True Wesleyan.
LIVE TO DO GOOD.
BY JAMES STILLMAN.

Live to do good,—this world should be
But one united family,
One holy brotherhood;
Where each should for his neighbor feel,
Helping along the general weal,
And universal good.

But selfish aims too oft intrude,
And thoughtless words, or actions rude,
Engender enmity;
And hence the scenes of foolish strife,
Marring the happiness of life,
Which every day we see.

'Tis sad to find the evil seed
So thickly sown, and noxious weed
Its baleful presence spread;

And witness passion's harsh control
Crush the affections of the soul
Beneath its iron tread.

Live to do good,—an idle wile
Is useless—action must prevail,
A living pattern teach;

Invoke example's potent aid,
And that to which you would persuade,
Practice as well as preach.

Live to do good,—if festering sores
Humanity with tears deplores,
Strive all you can to heal;

Direct the young, and comfort age,
Boldly for right and truth engage,
And for the suffering feel.

Live to do good, and kindness show
To neighbor, stranger, friend, and foe,
Nor think the task is hard;

Heaven will bestow its righteous meed,
And every earth-forgotten deed
Shall bring a rich reward.

REFORMATORY.

THE HARWICH MOB.
HARWICH, Sept. 20, 1848.

FRIEND QUINCY:

I am frequently in circumstances that remind me of a passage in scripture and history—Jer. v. 1: ‘Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find a man; if there be any that exalteth judgment, that seeketh the truth!’ A certain philosopher went through the streets of Athens, with a lighted lamp in his hand, and being asked what he sought, answered, I am seeking to find an honest man. By standing up for right and truth, and doing the will of God, I have tested men and measures, in the ecclesiastical and political world. So now I am testing the editorial, and also the anti-slavery department; and it verily seems, there is not a just man upon earth. But it is a great consolation that I know verily, there is one Being that is absolutely impartial—perfectly and infinitely just—eternally and invariably so. Man having an own will, it biases his mind, and blinds his understanding; but not so with God, his will continually flows from perfect and infinite attributes, such as infinite knowledge, wisdom, justice, righteousness, purity; and these omnipotent power will display, ere long, before the just and unjust.

There have been published in the Liberator some six or eight pieces concerning the anti-slavery meeting in Harwich, some directed to its editor, and some from other persons; all on one side of the question, and not one simple word of expression on the other. Now you have had an opportunity, or you have not; consequently you are partial, or you are not.

It is not best for the whole truth to go forth to the world, and especially to the readers of the Liberator? (Oh! for one impartial paper!) as I hope that many who read the Liberator love the truth. Not that I desire to lessen the wickedness of the violent mobocratic spirit manifested on that occasion, but I desire to show what provoked them to it. As I patronize this paper, I consider that I am under obligation to see justice done. If we suffer for well doing, happy are we. Now, if Parker Pillsbury and S. S. Foster had stated the simple-truth in the spirit of love, I should conclude they would have suffered for well doing; but the truth is, they did neither, but exactly the opposite; and where there was some truth in regard to the people's faults, they would so wonderfully exaggerate it, that the adumbration would lose all its force, and fall back on themselves. They did, and the promise has been fulfilled. I now make the same promise to you, in the name of many others as well as myself; and hope to see it fulfilled on the same conditions.

Written at Washington City, this 27th day of August, 1848, and sent by Col Fremont.

THOS. H. BENTON.

THE LIBERATOR.

an oath that it imprecates the curse of God as the penalty for perjury. ‘The appeal to God in an oath,’ says Webster, ‘implies that the person imprecates his vengeance, and renounces his favor, if the declaration is false; or if the declaration is a promise, the person invokes the vengeance of God if he should fail to fulfill it.’

Well, on the other hand, on the part of those who renounce oath-taking as anti-Christian, the question arises whether any kind of special pledge, or formal affirmation, or superadded asseveration, designed to give confirmation to what one says or promises, is compatible with the precept, ‘Let your yes be yes, and your no, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.’ There is good ground for argument that all such extra confirmations are inconsistent with this precept, and with the perfect simplicity of Truth in the highest manifestations of moral rectitude. It is therefore a pure and noble aspiration of the soul to aim at this perfection of truthful simplicity. Yet, perhaps Christians are not warranted in denouncing these extra confirmations, as they are the oath; nor in making a martyr-stand against the legal affirmation, as was most righteously and wisely made against the oath. At least, we have not felt it to be our duty to refuse conformity to the civil law in this respect, when placed in circumstances which brought us to the test. Our conscience, perhaps a defective one, has acquiesced with our reason in the decision not to go into martyrdom on so minute a point of righteously, until we have made the requisite sacrifices on several fundamental points yet to be contested with worldly iniquity, prejudice and expediency. If others feel that it is their duty to take a stand and suffer on this point, we would not forbid them. Yet it should always be considered in such cases, whether in magnifying the moles of unrighteousness and inconsistency, we are heedlessly overlooking the mountains in other parts of our conduct and character. To be extremely scrupulous in some little things, and ready to shake the world in order to set them right, whilst in obviously great things we go with the carnal tide, is only to court an evil notoriety, which dishonors rather than glorifies the cause of righteousness. True practical Christianity illustrates the proprieties of reason, as well as the devotion of religion, and the fidelity of conscience. It harmonizes as well as purifies the whole character. It exemplifies intellectual and moral order.

REFORMATORY.

In another column we have pretty fully expressed our sympathy with the popular and growing Free Soil movement of the day, and in this we must express our dissent from it. We dissent from its position and practice in reference to Slavery in the States where it now exists, and its determination to abide by the Constitution of the United States—unrighteous, tyranny-supporting Instrument; Gerrit Smith, Lyman Spooner, and all their brethren in the faith, of its anti-slavery character, to the contrary notwithstanding. It is marvelous to us how any man, with his eyes open, can regard it as any other than a ‘compromised’ with the basest Iniquity. We can but smile when we read the confident boasts of some who have lately expressed their ability to demonstrate even in a few words, the entire absence of any such compromise; yet if they have honestly come to this conviction, and think that they can hold office and vote under the Constitution, without pledging any support to Slavery in any way, we have no condemnation to mete out to them. And this Free Soil movement is probably the highest manifestation of anti-slavery that the multitude can come up to at present. We will rejoice in so much progress, therefore, and encourage them to go onward and still onward, till they reach the elevation from which they will shout, ‘No Union with Slave-holders.’

This Free Soil movement we regard as a legitimate result of the Anti-Slavery movement, and we shall not, therefore, complain of it as an evil. It would not have been certainly so, had it not had ‘it is not been for a ‘well-organized’ Anti-Slavery, the beginning of all the Anti-Slavery in the land. And now let the latter receive even a more vigorous, more enthusiastic, more persevering support than ever before; for it is still necessary, in order to keep alive and active the spirit of Freedom, it has awakened throughout the country. Let not its friends suffer it to die, even like Liberal Party, who he ‘translated’ into ‘lasting death.’ Then it is to us to see to it. We say, then, let this new movement come to us: and it will come if we are faithful to ours. We are no higher than absolute right, and no one ought to be lower than it. In the progress of things all will attain to it. Men cut a sorry figure in going back to the ‘beginning’ elements of the world, merely to retrace their steps, amidst the sin and浩劫 of multitude! These men will run straight with in truth alone, patiently and confidently waiting for the revolutions of time and events to bring all up to his stand-point. But let the motto of all, whether up or down, be ‘Exedior,’ and if they are true to us, we will bid them a God speed. [Practical Christian.]

MISCELLANEOUS.

LETTER FROM SENATOR BENTON TO THE PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA.

ELKANA NICKERSON.

From the Practical Christian.

OATHS AND AFFIRMATIONS.

Both are objectionable, but not on the same grounds, nor in the same degree. An oath is positively forbidden by the law of Christ. It is absolutely anti Christian anywhere and everywhere in all its uses. The affirmation, we mean the legal affirmation, was devised by the English Government as a substitute for the oath, to accommodate the Quakers and others who conscientiously refused to swear at all. It was accepted as a compromise. The government obtained by it an acknowledgment of subjection to the powers that be, and to their punishments. The non-swearers obtained by it an exemption from persecution in this matter for conscience sake. They were willing to acknowledge their subjection to human government with all its pains and penalties; but were not willing to violate the command of God. They suffered much and long, but finally prevailed so far over barbarism, as to extort from their persecutors the affirmation as a substitute for the oath. The affirmation, in our day, has become so common, and is shuffled over so interchangeably with the oath, that many people deem it the same thing. But they little consider what it cost to induce government to give up the oath for this substitute, in accommodation to scruples of conscience, which it at first treated with utter contempt.

But what is the real difference between the oath and the affirmation? Ans. The oath calls God to witness some declaration, promise or vow, and says, give me no help, show me no mercy, if I am not perfectly truthful in my testimony, or faithful to my engagement. This is alike impious and presumptuous. It is an insult to God, and a horrible trifling with one's own hope of salvation. It is no suitable test or guaranty of truth. ‘Swear not at all.’ There are no exceptions. But the affirmation makes no allusion whatever to God, his help or mercy, and stipulates no contingent forfeiture of his goodness. It is only an asseveration of one's truthfulness, coupled with an acknowledgment that he is under, or subject to, the pains and penalties of perjury, according to human law. This does not seem to involve anything of the sin of an oath. But on the part of government it is a childish, useless exhibition, which ensures nothing of truthfulness, and has become to the multitude an unmeaning acknowledgement of the penal power of human government. It ought to be abolished, and will be when legislators get to be men enough to put away childish things.

Nominal Christians, who advocate oath-taking, allege that Christ forbids only *false* and *profane* swearing, not sacred and truthful oaths, such as are required in Church and State. This is too flatly absurd, in view of the New Testament language, to need refutation. Moses and the prophets forbade profane and false swearing. Christ referred to this fact, and distinctly forbade all swearing. There is no doubt of this.

But, says an oath-taker, all oaths are oaths, all

calls of God to witness are oaths; and the

apostles took oaths, and made appeals to God as the witness of their truthfulness, they certainly took oaths; and therefore did not understand Christ to forbid all oaths-taking. No; friend, a vow is not an oath. An appeal to God as the witness of truthfulness is not an oath. It is essential to the nature of

the oath, that it imprecates the curse of God as the penalty for perjury. ‘The appeal to God in an oath,’ says Webster, ‘implies that the person imprecates his vengeance, and renounces his favor, if the declaration is false; or if the declaration is a promise, the person invokes the vengeance of God if he should fail to fulfill it.’

Well, on the other hand, on the part of those who renounce oath-taking as anti-Christian, the question arises whether any kind of special pledge, or formal affirmation, or superadded asseveration, designed to give confirmation to what one says or promises, is compatible with the precept, ‘Let your yes be yes, and your no, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.’ There is good ground for argument that all such extra confirmations are inconsistent with this precept, and with the perfect simplicity of Truth in the highest manifestations of moral rectitude. It is therefore a pure and noble aspiration of the soul to aim at this perfection of truthful simplicity. Yet, perhaps Christians are not warranted in denouncing these extra confirmations, as they are the oath; nor in making a martyr-stand against the legal affirmation, as was most righteously and wisely made against the oath. At least, we have not felt it to be our duty to refuse conformity to the civil law in this respect, when placed in circumstances which brought us to the test. Our conscience, perhaps a defective one, has acquiesced with our reason in the decision not to go into martyrdom on so minute a point of righteously, until we have made the requisite sacrifices on several fundamental points yet to be contested with worldly iniquity, prejudice and expediency. If others feel that it is their duty to take a stand and suffer on this point, we would not forbid them. Yet it should always be considered in such cases, whether in magnifying the moles of unrighteousness and inconsistency, we are heedlessly overlooking the mountains in other parts of our conduct and character. To be extremely scrupulous in some little things, and ready to shake the world in order to set them right, whilst in obviously great things we go with the carnal tide, is only to court an evil notoriety, which dishonors rather than glorifies the cause of righteousness. True practical Christianity illustrates the proprieties of reason, as well as the devotion of religion, and the fidelity of conscience. It harmonizes as well as purifies the whole character. It exemplifies intellectual and moral order.

Imports which have paid no duties to the United States, should pay them to you—moderately, so as not to repress trade, or burthen the consumers—say 20 per centum on the value whence imported. Less, or even none, would be better.

You are apprised that the question of extending African slavery to California occupies, at present, the attention of our Congress. I know of nothing that you can do at this time that can influence the decision of that question here. When you become a State, the entire and absolute decision of it will be in your own hands. In your present condition, and with your paucity of numbers, I would recommend total abstinence from the agitation of the question. Such agitation might distract yourselves when you ought to be united as one man, doing harm where you are, and no good here.

Two years ago, when the people of Oregon were left without a government, I addressed them a letter, recommending to them peace and order among themselves, reliance upon Congress, and submission to their own voluntary government until replaced by another; and I promised them eventual protection from our laws, if they so conducted themselves. They did, and the promise has been fulfilled. I now make the same promise to you, in the name of many others as well as myself; and hope to see it fulfilled on the same conditions.

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The Mexican Insurgents.—A letter from the city of Mexico of August 7, says—Father Jarrait has been shot, together with a number of other of the insurgent officers. Paredes has made his escape from Guanajuato to parts unknown.

Caterpillars.—An English agricultural paper gives the following method of destroying caterpillars, which was accidentally discovered, and is practised by a gardener near Glasgow. A piece of woollen rag had been blown by the wind into a currant bush, and when taken out was found covered with caterpillars. Taking the hint he immediately plucked pieces of woollen cloth in every bush in his garden, and found the next day that the caterpillars had universally taken to them for shelter. In this way he destroys thousands every morning.

Earthquakes and Storms.—The accounts from Liverpool, Eng., by the steamer Acadia, state that a gale of wind was experienced there the night of the 8th September, (hours not stated) that was the night of the earthquake here; and the day following the weather there was cold and wet.

The White Mountains.—The White Mountains, on Monday, September 25, presented an appearance of dazzling brilliancy. The first rays of the morning sun, reflected from their lofty peaks, revealed the wide range robed to its base in its glittering drapery of snow.

Fredric Jerome.—The Common Council of the City of New York has voted to confer the freedom of the city, in a gold box, upon Frederic Jerome, the heroic seaman, through whose instrumentality numbers of lives were saved from the burning Ocean Monarch. Jerome has made New York his home for eight or nine years, and has in that city a wife and children. It is a fact worthy of remembrance, that this intrepid man saved the lives of one hundred individuals at the time the packet ship ‘Henry Clay’ was stranded.

Curious Discovery.—It has recently been discovered in England that the great beds of chalk several hundred feet thick, which formations are abundant in England, are composed entirely of minute shells, invisible to the naked eye. Microscopic observation has even discovered that the bodies of the annelidous which inhabited these shells are still enclosed in them, being the mummies of a former world.

DR. FROST

CAN BE CONSULTED BY PATIENTS AT HIS OFFICE,